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POVERTY RE-EXAMINED--OLD PROBLEMS, NEW CHALLENGES. SUMMARY
REPORT OF THE 1964 NATIONAL CONFERENCE.
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, NEW YORK, N.Y.

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FOUR AREAS OF PRIMARY CONCERN FOR THE DELEGATES AT THIS
CONFERENCE WERE THE ANTIPOVERTY WAR, THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF
1964, URBAN RIOTS, AND NONPARTISAN VOTER EDUCATION. VARIOUS
SESSIONS DEALT WITH (1) POVERTY, (2) JOB DEVELOPMENT AND
EMPLOYMENT, (3) EDUCATION AND YOUTH INCENTIVES, (4) HOUSING,
(5) HEALTH AND WELFARE, AND (6) RELIGIOUS RESOURCES. THE
PROCEEDINGS OF PARTICULAR SESSIONS WERE BRIEFLY SUMMARIZED
AND INCLUDED THE NAMES OF THE SPEAKERS AND PARTICIPANTS. (RG)

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Summary Report of the 1964 National Conference

**POVERTY
RE-EXAMINED:**

**Old Problems
New Challenges**

UD 001381

National Urban League

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 29, 1964

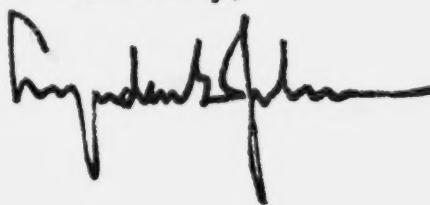
Dear Mr. Steeger:

I extend hearty greetings to the participants in the 54th Conference of the National Urban League.

Our Nation has made significant progress during this past year toward the goal of building a Great Society founded on mutual respect, justice, and good will among all men. Passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act represents a milestone in our journey and the National Urban League has every right to be proud of the role its leaders played in its passage.

This Act when combined with measures to stimulate the economy and to attack poverty will help to assure economic and personal freedom for our citizens. The intelligence, energy, and resourcefulness of the National Urban League continue to be needed in our march toward these common goals.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Lyndon B. Johnson", written in a cursive style.

Mr. Henry Steeger
President
National Urban League, Inc.
Sheraton Hotel
Louisville, Kentucky

Preface

As president of the National Urban League for the past four years it has been my proud privilege to work with its dedicated, extraordinarily capable staff members and volunteers during an unforgettable period of vast change. Today the flood of changes in our society is accelerating and reaching to the furthest corners of our nation as a result of the new Civil Rights and Economic Opportunity Laws.

The League is one agency which is not only equipped to cope with these changes, but to guide and lead in the dynamic period ahead. For proof of this unequivocal statement I refer skeptics to this report of the 1964 National Conference of the Urban League.

Addressing the 1961 National Conference I said "the time is forever gone when we or any others in the free world can afford to indulge the luxury of narrow perspectives, focusing completely on problems arising in our own local, or even national scene." In this brief record of the 1964 Conference one can see how the League role extends from the neighborhood to the nation and, thereby, to the international scene. This report indicates how the Urban League role is expanding and how aware of the League's importance are national leaders of business, labor, government, social welfare, religion and education. Their interest is understandable, for the League has proven for more than fifty years that "American Teamwork Works"—an example never more precious, never more vitally needed than now.

HENRY STEEGER



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1. BOY SCOUTS IN ACTION
IN NEWSROOM

2. GUILD MEMBERS GATHER
AFTER LUNCHEON

3. OFFICE MANAGER
MRS. MILDRED GRIFFIN KEEPS
THINGS MOVING

4. EDUCATION WORKSHOP
TACKLES SCHOOL PROBLEMS

5. LEAGUE PRESIDENT STEEGER AND
FAMILY WELCOMED AT AIRPORT



Introduction

More than 1,100 Americans came to Louisville, Kentucky the first week of August, 1964.

They came from states large and small, from huge "megalopolises" such as Chicago and New York and from small cities such as Anderson, Indiana. They came from the upper reaches of government, business, labor, social welfare, education and religion, representing immense complexes of industrial, organizational, intellectual and moral power. Many came as individuals. All came as activists, as doers. They came to Louisville not for its climate, but in spite of its 104° heat, to the National Conference of the Urban League.

They came because America, perhaps even more than it actually realizes, is beginning to look at its nerve centers, its urban cores through the eyes of the UL. To the bulk of the nation this is new vision; to the UL this is a 54-year old focus: its twin concerns have been always and urgently equal economic opportunity and civil rights.

"Greater than the tread of might armies," said Victor Hugo, "is an idea whose hour has arrived." The National Urban League is an agency whose hour has arrived.

Few organizations ever find themselves in positions of substantial influence, even locally. The NUL finds itself at a fulcrum of nationwide influence because its equal opportunity and civil rights concerns have become the central domestic business of vast federal programs and agencies and private industrial and voluntary organizations throughout the land. The passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (better known as the Anti-Poverty Bill) represents a national commitment to the League's earliest dedication: "Not Alms but Opportunity." And the Civil Rights Act of 1964 rang out as an endorsement of the UL's motto "American Teamwork Works."

When the federal government, business and labor, religious leaders and responsible citizens of every political faction suddenly join in to help construct innumerable superhighways stemming from the difficult, precarious path the League pioneered and built into an ever-widening road for more than half a century, a certain degree of confident exuberance is warranted. It was evident among delegates* at the National Conference of the Urban League in Louisville in August.

It was evident in delegates, in the momentum of the program and the peripheral events, in the focus on practice rather than theory, on expediting rather than exhorting, on tackling problems rather than debating them and in the UL's tactical mobility.

To be expected also, when government sends its top administrators in the fields of labor, housing, education, health and welfare, to counsel with you, is a quiet pride in recognition of accomplishment and profession. Such pride was appropriate in UL Board and staff members not only because of the participation of more than 100 key government officials: more than 100 leading businessmen, and a host of labor, education, church and other officials also participated.

It was the second UL Conference in Louisville. The previous one was in 1929. Not only was it a different Conference, held in a different era, but it was a different city. Then, less than 100 delegates—most of them UL staff members, with a sprinkling of board members and northern professors—held all their meetings at the Negro branch of the Louisville YWCA. The city was a segregated one and the UL Conference held only one public meeting, at a local Negro church. Jobs were the prime subject of the Conference in 1929. However, there was the discussion of "assimilation" of the new Negro migrants into America's cities.

But in open, hospitable Louisville 1964, the days when an UL conference was mainly for discussions of theory and methodology, for near despair at the diffi-

culty of opening doors and enlisting support for League efforts to keep people alive were clearly a thing of the past. The 1964 Conference was a gathering of practical professional, committed and interested men and women. Their watchword was *urgent*. By the time of the Conference opening session Sunday evening, August 2, 1964, many delegates had already put in three full twelve-hour days of sessions. This pace continued through the final day of meetings, August 6.

And the areas of interest which dominated the Conference all had one common denominator—the verb *participate*. Conference delegates were not only urged but counseled on effective routes to participate themselves and to stimulate citizens to participate and to bring their weight to bear in their communities and to place the heft of those communities on the scales in regard to four areas of prime concern: 1) the Anti-Poverty War; 2) the new Civil Rights Act; 3) urban riots; and 4) non-partisan voter education.

*The term "delegates" is used frequently in this report to refer to those who registered for, participated in, audited or visited any sessions of the Conference. Technically, however, delegates to the Conference were those official voting members of the Delegate Assembly, the UL's policy-making and legislative body.



QUARTER CENTURY CLUB MEMBERS
A FEW OF THE "OLD TIMERS" MEET AGAIN



DELEGATES POUR IN FOR REGISTRATION



THE LEAGUE'S CHIEF EXECUTIVE AND FAMILY ON ARRIVAL AT AIRPORT

REGIONAL CHIEFS MEET IN STRATEGY SESSION



ANTI-POVERTY CAMPAIGN

At first glance, the theme of the Conference, "Poverty Re-examined: Old Problems, New Challenges" might have appeared to veteran Urban Leaguers as the same old subject of each of the preceding League Conferences over a half-century.

There were many differences, however. First, the Conference took place on the eve of House of Representatives approval of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

Second, as Cernoria Johnson, Whitney Young, Jack Conway and other speakers indicated, the League's domestic Marshall Plan recommendations helped shape the thinking of those who developed the anti-poverty legislation; the NUL executive director had by invitation testified persuasively in favor of the measure before a Congressional subcommittee hearing; the League's Washington Bureau director, regional directors and program specialists had met with Economic Opportunity Task Forces and Administration officials from the Departments of Labor and HEW for two days when the anti-poverty program was being drafted; the NUL program experts had been invited to counsel with those who drew up the legislation and some of them were requested to continue as resource persons to the Anti-Poverty Program administrators.

Third, the emphasis of Conference discussions had shifted from pointing out the problems to tackling the solutions with project proposals. The reorganized NUL structure with its new decentralization under seasoned regional directors was described as better equipped to give speedy, expert assistance to local ULs in preparing project proposals and securing federal action on them.

Fourth, the delegates were reminded that the days of doing *for* rather than *with* the Negro are past. No community will receive anti-poverty program funds unless the responsible committee in the city has Negro participation. Thus local ULs could be sure that minority group constituents would participate in the planning and exe-

cution of projects in their cities.

Fifth, "the UL is on trial," Whitney Young told delegates. The regional directors, he said, are charged to see that local ULs make efforts to form cooperative groups to secure anti-poverty program commitments or get on the boards of existing groups. The National office will be checking, he stated, to see that each UL is involved in the anti-poverty effort and will assess the skill of local UL executives on the basis of such activity. The federal government is willing to channel anti-poverty funds through local ULs, he said, citing existing federally-underwritten programs in Milwaukee, Washington, D.C. and New York City.

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 placed all Conference discussions in a new framework. Its existence drastically reduced the time devoted to deliberation and discussion of petitions of one kind or another calling for regulations and statutes to sustain fair employment or training or education or health and welfare services.

Though the League more than most agencies realizes that the new Law has serious shortcomings, still it recognizes that the Law commits the far-reaching power of the federal government establishment to positive effort in favor of equal rights. The means of working with this newly-committed, powerful ally was a central factor in Conference sessions and discussions. The dimensions of the shift in focus made possible by passage of the Law would be meaningful, considerable, but hard to assess.

As Whitney Young stated in his keynote address, the new rights Law "marks the end of an era of fighting for recognition of a man's rights (and) the beginning of an era of fighting for a man's place in the sun." The Conference took place, he said, in a new arena which the new Law was even then shaping, a time in which the rules work *for* instead of *against*, "in

which the power and aid of private free enterprise and of the federal establishment are committed to insure equality of opportunity."

In the translation of legal rights into actual experience as first-class citizens none are better qualified than Urban Leaguers, said Young. The current challenge to Negro citizens and the UL is, he said, to help people use the tools and resources of existing institutions. The central efforts of the Conference were directed to this end. The practical effects were observable in the deliberations and activities in various underlying ways:

- There was increased emphasis on the need for fact-finding and documentation of local conditions. This recognized a change due to the new Law, shifting the burden of proof from the Leagues to institutions cited. It recognized a change from the past approach of polite, informal or formal requests of local authorities to open facilities, training, etc., to Negroes. The new Law makes it necessary for ULs to assist federal authorities with information necessary to bring government power to bear where and when necessary.
- The Rights Law gave a new sense of confidence and effectiveness to Conference participants. It invested UL programs and pronouncements with a new degree of importance. As Labor Secretary Wirtz told delegates, "there is no loneliness about the battle we are fighting."
- A far more effective use of UL effort is now possible, because of the new Law. Conference discussions and UL attention were and will be devoted to securing and offering specific, direct services to constituents rather than concentrating on hacking through the many thickets of discriminatory practices now being cleared by the new Law.
- Further, the Civil Rights Law makes it possible for the ULs to spread the burden to all available institutions in the commu-

nity rather than serve as "catch-basins" for the defaults of agencies which have so long served the needs of Negro citizens inadequately, if at all.

- The discussions at the Conference indicated that the UL delegates are well aware that the new Law places on them new responsibility to stimulate Negro citizens to use all available resources of the local, state and national communities in social, economic and political planning and implementation.

- It was apparent in the attendance: There was a visible increase in participation by white leaders from all walks of life, by newly-concerned individuals, by reports of local ULs of new volunteer allies, and by increased inquiries for assistance in establishing ULs that there is an increasing transfer of interest from demonstrations to implementation. That the League now has more tactical mobility than ever before was demonstrated conclusively during the Conference: The launching of a special voter education drive was one indication. And an unscheduled, full-scale, half-day conference report and discussion of ways and means of implementing pending federal anti-poverty legislation was another. Release of the League's report on "Health Care and the Negro Population," its announcement of a cooperative regional program to enlarge housing opportunities for New York area residents and release of a letter and 27-page report to President Johnson detailing instances of discrimination in the use of federal funds (now prohibited by Title VI of the Civil Rights Law) were others. These latter three documents drew headlines in local newspapers and newscasts across the nation. Further, with the impact of the Conference evident in every edition of Kentucky newspapers and TV and radio news broadcasts, all UL officials helped initiate and participated in open and far-ranging discussions with Louisville's mayor and Kentucky's governor on minority needs and problems.

- All of these Civil Rights Law effects were in evidence as Whitney Young charged local Leagues to "mobilize and organize the Negro community into effective, disciplined social action, (to) bring about change in conditions through intelligent use of existing social, economic and political institutions, nationally and locally."



LOUISVILLE MAYOR PRESENTS WHITNEY YOUNG WITH KEY TO CITY

URBAN RIOTS

In conversations, in addresses, in references to community needs and social danger spots, delegates were deeply concerned by recent urban riots. Their concern was four-fold: That riots would benefit the campaigns of candidates advocating repressive rather than remedial measures; that disorders would make remedies more costly and difficult by spotlighting symptoms rather than causes; that the distinction between disorders and demonstrations would be lost to many citizens; that riots would discredit responsible Negro leadership, making it appear powerless to influence its constituents and halt such events.

In his keynote address Whitney Young pointed out that the Conference theme "Poverty Re-examined" was directly related to urban riots. "We deplore violence, looting, vandalism and criminal action of any type," he said, "and strongly urge the cooperation of all local leaders with intelligent police enforcement officials toward the eradication of such activity." But, he pointed out, "peace is more than the absence of conflict. It is the presence of justice. Obsession with law and order, while ignoring poverty and suffering is unrealistic. Responsible Negro leadership needs responsive white leadership. America cannot afford a police state."

In their discussions of the riots, UL executives from cities such as New York, Flint, (Michigan), Philadelphia, Warren, (Ohio) and San Francisco spoke of preventive measures they had instituted. They ranged from opening around-the-clock channels to the "submerged groups" to act to offset police brutality or insensitivity.

Short-term solutions were mentioned: jobs to take youngsters off the streets; more schools; training programs; mechanisms for citizen complaints against police; recognition by police that they are not immune from prejudice; prompt police department action against it when found; desegregation of housing and public facilities; but again and again: jobs, housing, education and recreation.

Immediate, searching examination of communities was recommended, to see what communication between whites and Negroes exists and to determine how reliable it is. How many Negroes are on the local police force? Can some of them be upgraded? How can they be used strategically? What alert system exists or can be fashioned to handle outbreaks of disorder? What are the contacts, controls, actions to be taken in an emergency? What board of review exists for citizen complaints? Problems with explosive potential should be reviewed with elected officials and other leadership groups. Police should be made socially sensitive through human relations indoctrination

and should know from actual exposure what community attitudes are toward them.

Success in preventing two incipient riots was reported. In Newark, N. J., after the New York City riots, Negro unrest grew to the point where a protest against police brutality was scheduled. However, this was transmuted, with UL aid, into a voter registration drive and the negative impulses achieved a positive result.

In New York, the UL successfully organized a confederation of the Negro religious, civic, protest and civil rights agencies. This group effectively spiked an inflammatory demonstration and march called by an irresponsible splinter political leader. The confederation continued to meet during the tensions in Harlem.

UL officials were unequivocal in their roster of underlying factors which give explosive potential to "trigger" incidents: no jobs, poor health, no education for work, no recreation, no futures and in most cases, no involvement nor initiative by responsible, representative civic leaders and businessmen.

Though the Anti-Poverty Campaign obviously would change some of these factors, the questions of time and scale remained unpredictable. Also, the necessity of involvement by business and civic leaders was emphasized often. Yet it was in implementation of the Civil Rights Law and the Economic Opportunity Act that delegates saw promise of major, fundamental changes in ghetto life.

NON-PARTISAN VOTER EDUCATION

Of the four paramount subjects facing the Conference, the one demanding immediate, forced-draft attention and massive marshalling of effort was voter education. This was the view of League leadership, staff, volunteers and Conference delegates. The overriding urgency of the matter was stated by the Delegate Assembly, the League's highest deliberative body: "We believe the greatest threat

to effective implementation of the new civil rights legislation and continued progress toward equality of opportunity in America is posed by forces whose views do not support the principles and goals which guide our operations."

The Delegate Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution that called on the civil rights movement and "all groups and individuals concerned with the preservation of our democracy" to become active in political education, registration and voting. The resolution announced launching of an all-out non-partisan voter education and registration campaign. It also endorsed a moratorium on mass demonstrations and backed channeling mass demonstration activity into political education, registration and voting.

A voter registration and education effort by the UL is not unprecedented; the League has regularly been active in this field. But in response to the urgency of the situation, the resolution actually outlined the drive which would supplement existing efforts. It would focus on areas with the largest number of eligible voters. With its own budget and staff and headed by veteran UL executive Sterling Tucker, the project began that very day, August 6, and was to extend for three months. Initial financing of \$100,000 by NUL was announced at a press conference. Thus the UL threw itself into an effort to get citizens to demonstrate with their votes rather than their feet.

"Never in the history of America has there been a greater and more complete identity between the ideals of social justice and the requirements of economic progress. The latter goal is not attainable if large scale policy measures are not inaugurated to reach the former goal." The statement is United Nations economist Gunnar Myrdal's in his book "Challenge to Affluence," published in 1963.

The Civil Rights and Economic Opportunity Laws of 1964 were responses to this

challenge and recognition by America of its validity. The nation was aroused to the necessity and began to marshal its resources, human and material, for the sustained, massive effort required.

"The UL," said Whitney Young in his Conference keynote speech, "has the know-how, the machinery, the proven effectiveness to lead and participate in this drive." This claim was endorsed by a host of federal and private experts during the Conference, including Labor Secretary Wirtz, Education Commissioner Keppel, Housing Administrator Weaver, U.S. Information Agency Director Rowan, U.S. Public Health official Christensen, Plans for Progress Chairman William Miller, retailing executive Robert Lazarus, Jr., and labor union official Jack T. Conway.

"Our experienced professional staff, our volunteers . . . know intimately the structures and means, priorities and problems of the metropolitan centers . . . This UL mastery is available to the Negro and to the nation's institutions," said the NUL executive director. It was evident as the Conference progressed that many of these institutions are now using and will increasingly call upon this UL mastery.

With its reorganization and decentralization, its professional competence, its expanded financial and personnel resources and most of all, its depth of experience in fighting deprivation and discrimination, the UL was uniquely equipped to lead and participate in the "new" anti-poverty war.

It had been the vanguard for 54 years. Now, having been joined in this effort by the federal government, innumerable public, private and voluntary agencies of nationwide as well as community scope, the League was serving, in effect, as a seasoned *cadre*. And with the League's efforts augmented a thousandfold, the forces rallying against indigence and need were unparalleled in the history of the world. If this new army of warriors for social justice matched the League in dedication, determination and skill, there could be no doubt of ultimate victory.

Opening Session

Presiding:

Ramon S. Scruggs, NUL trustee and Conference chairman, manager, public relations department, American Telephone & Telegraph Company

Greetings:

Harry Lewman, vice chairman, Louisville UL board of directors and chairman, local arrangements committee

Hon. Thomas A. Ballantine, Jr., chairman Louisville UL board of directors; judge, Jefferson Circuit Court

Charles T. Steele, executive director, Louisville UL

Hon. William O. Cowger, mayor, City of Louisville; member, Louisville UL board of directors

Response:

Henry Steeger, NUL president, publisher, Argosy Magazine

Presentation:

UL Family of the Year — Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Jones of Louisville, Ky.

Keynote Address:

Whitney M. Young, Jr., NUL executive director

Henry Steeger officially convened the Conference on Sunday evening, August 2 and called on all Americans to unite in "an American revolution" against "hatred, poverty and injustice." "The Negro protest," he said, "has proved an invaluable service" in pointing out conditions of crippling unemployment, inadequate health and medical care for our people, decaying cities, and injustices so strongly and clearly that all men of good will have taken up the fight against them."

This revolution has promise not just for Negro citizens alone, he emphasized. For "no white American citizen will ever have full dignity or opportunity until every Negro citizen has full dignity and opportunity; no American citizen will ever enjoy full prosperity until every citizen has an opportunity for full employment and full prosperity."

The NUL stands ready to show the way toward "harmony and cooperation," he said. "We have proved the words of our motto — American Teamwork Works — we must now demonstrate to the nation that what we have achieved in 66 cities across the country can be duplicated in every city and town in this country — and that someday this unifying effort will enoble and uplift all our people, whatever their skin color, whatever their race. . . . This nation can be — and must be — a proving ground for the one world of tomorrow which is certain to come."

TRUSTEE WILLIAM BALDWIN HONORED FOR HALF CENTURY OF LEAGUE SERVICE





THE JONES FAMILY—URBAN LEAGUE FAMILY OF THE YEAR

FAMILY OF THE YEAR

The family of retired postal clerk Henry W. Jones and his wife was named the UL Family of the Year.

The Joneses, who live in Louisville, received the award with six of their nine children present. It was the first time the family had been together in ten years.

League president Henry Steeger congratulated the family for "exemplifying the high civic, religious and patriotic standards that represent the very best America has to offer." The children present included an optometrist, Air Force recruiting officer, Unitarian minister on the Howard University faculty, a medical technician, an accountant and a housewife.

Mr. Jones said he and his wife had decided "to make any sacrifice for our children if they were ambitious and wanted to succeed. . . . I always felt that to give them a good education was more important than giving them money."

KEYNOTE ADDRESS: REVOLUTION OF PARTICIPATION

The League's executive director, Whitney M. Young, Jr., gave the keynote address and called for a broad "revolution of participation" by and with America's Negro citizens to transform equal opportunity from a challenging slogan into a meaningful reality.

The Conference, he said, took place in a new arena created by the passage of the Civil Rights Act. He called it the threshold of "the Great Beyond." It is an age, he said, "that generations of Negroes viewed as the millennium — that time beyond equality of opportunity — a Great Beyond in which the rules work for, instead of against . . . in which the power and aid of private free enterprise and of the federal establishment are committed to insure equality of opportunity."

The new Civil Rights Law is an inter-

nationally-visible beacon to the non-whites of the world, he said, as a "delayed articulation of the fact that the Negro is a true citizen of this nation. The Act removes the stigma of inferiority, restores dignity and heightens morale." He then cataloged some of the major handicaps in health, education and employment still plaguing Negro citizens. "It is to give direction and to participate in removing these handicaps that the League is so uniquely qualified and so deeply committed," he said.

The real challenge to individuals is just beginning, Mr. Young predicted, "as the Law moves from legislative chambers to homes, neighborhoods, communities and cities. It is time for citizens to march beyond protest to participate," he said, calling for them to take advantage of PTA meetings, libraries, voting booths, party caucuses, training and education courses as well as participate as members of decision-making meetings on town zoning, urban renewal, etc.

The League has always been a "direct action" agency, he pointed out, from its founding until the present, in finding jobs, housing, better schooling, health and welfare services for Negroes.

Looking to the future, Young foresaw a network of 100 local Leagues in the next five years, with local League budgets tripled by contributions and increased support from United Funds and Community Chests and others who recognize UL's unique capabilities.

Urban Leaguers must help citizens, both Negro and white, understand that it is in the self-interest of both that the transition to full citizenship for Negroes be a quick, cooperative one. The white citizen is challenged, he said, to participate in and help this change.

Negroes are challenged to participate in community service programs of every kind, including tutoring, training, assisting, counseling and helping through volunteer work in agencies such as the YMCA, YWCA, Big Brother, Big Sister, etc.

"We must begin our Revolution of Participation immediately," charged Young. "In our sessions at this Conference let us move with resolution toward a new democracy. Having taken the soundings in our home communities, here set the course for the campaign against poverty, the participation which will take America triumphantly into a new era."

Annual Banquet

Presiding:

Henry Steeger, NUL president; publisher, Argosy Magazine

Speaker:

Hon. Carl T. Rowan, director, United States Information Agency

In his address to an audience of more



LOUISVILLE'S MAYOR WELCOMES PRESIDENT STEEGER

than 1400 persons in an overcrowded ballroom Carl Rowan called for fellow Negroes to rid the civil rights movement of "the taint of street rioters, looters and punks who terrorize subways."

"Demonstrations, with possible rare exceptions, have served their purpose for the time being," Rowan told the Conference. "... We dare not forget that while some gains may flow from a passionate articulation of our grievances, other great gains will come from our being smarter than those who would deny the Negro the status of free men. So I join and I applaud those Negro leaders who have called for a return to the realization that protests are not an end in themselves and that we have got to sow many seeds and plow many kinds of fields before we can expect to reap the full harvest of freedom. When we do this, we shall move forward more rapidly because we shall have wiped out some of the confusion and apprehension that is creeping into ... the white

community."

"Nothing," he continued, "could be more foolhardy than for Negroes to proceed on the assumption that progress has not flowed, and will not continue to flow, from the rulings of our courts, from the power and prestige of the executive branch of government, from the personal and social pressures exerted by workers such as you in the UL movement, and now, from the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

"Where do we go from here and how do we achieve peace with justice?" he asked.

"The Negro must proceed boldly in efforts to wipe out the last vestiges of second-class citizenship — but remembering at every turn that there is a vast difference between being courageous and being pugnacious." He must "try to win the public relations battle ... to carry a majority of white Americans with him."

Government at all levels must press for speedy and strict obedience to the new

Civil Rights Law, he said. "Nothing is more futile than to preach obedience of the Law to the bitter and disillusioned in our slums if we have high officials counseling . . . circumvention or even outright defiance of a law passed by well over two-thirds of our Congress.

"Only when the Law is enforced with uniform justice can there be lasting respect



NEWLY-ELECTED PRESIDENT LINDSLEY KIMBALL AND CONFERENCE GENERAL CHAIRMAN RAMON SCRUGGS

for the Law. Only those who have a stake in the fruits of society will nurture a lasting concern for the well-being of that society. Machinery must be set up to guarantee the Negro a stake in his society — and thus a responsibility to it."

Board Members Institute

Planning for the Future

Presiding:

Ivan C. McLeod, NUL trustee and chairman, personnel development and training committee; regional director, Region II, National Labor Relations Board



BOARD MEMBERS INSTITUTE PANEL TAKES A SESSION BREAK

Discussion Leader:

Dr. Kenneth W. Kindelsperger, dean, the Raymond A. Kent School of Social Work, University of Louisville

SESSION I

Discussants:

Robert Lazarus, Jr., president, Columbus UL; vice-chairman, F. & R. Lazarus Company

Dr. Herman H. Long, president, Talladega College

Topic:

THE UL RE-EXAMINED

Board members of both local and national ULs met on Wednesday, August 5 in a day-long institute. Designed to give opportunity to plan for the future, its point of departure was a re-examination of the UL during the past decade.

Robert Lazarus, Jr., began by referring back to the 1955 Board convention in Kansas City which brought together UL leaders from all over the country to ex-

amine the UL program and establish policy direction for the future. That conference assessed UL philosophy, objectives, methodology and organization.

The goals then stated were the integration of the Negro in community life, where he lives, works or spends his time or money. High priorities were assigned to health and welfare, housing, adoption and foster care, employment and training. Intensification of UL efforts in the south was stressed. More material, more frequently, from the NUL was requested.

Citing the unprecedented changes that have occurred, culminating in the Civil Rights Law, Mr. Lazarus spoke of current areas of need and their interrelationship. Education, housing, training, health and welfare and employment still are the core areas of UL activity and concern. "The Negro youngster will find himself doubly handicapped by discrimination and lack of education," he said. "We must close the academic gap and bring all children into full scale participation in this generation." Federal and state laws in retraining and manpower development must be utilized in every community and "it is the

responsibility of the UL to see that these programs are made available to all people."

Though the laws and public programs are first, the responsibility for fair employment practices, the retailing executive pointed out, "rests squarely with the businessmen and labor unions in this country." Dramatic progress would be made, he stated, if all persons in the business community who support the UL really pushed in this area. UL boards must lead their own communities in fair employment practices, he noted. "As board members, we must assume visible leadership in a controversial area," he said, as a clear duty to communities and nation.

The image and visibility of the League have improved immeasurably in the past decade, Mr. Lazarus observed, largely because of increasing public awareness of the problems of race in the nation.

The UL has not moved as rapidly in the south as was recommended in 1955. And youth incentives and motivation were not major concerns ten years ago. They will be major UL programs in the future, he predicted.

To make progress in the areas of de facto school segregation, quality education, housing and employment requires more effective involvement of volunteers, he said. This is a challenge to the professional staffs of local ULs.

Mr. Lazarus said the growth of the NUL in the past five years has been astounding in expanded services, evaluation, improved communications, size and effectiveness. He predicted dramatic growth for the NUL and continuing change in national-local relationships. The strength of the organization has been its ability to tailor programs to local needs. The local affiliates, he said, "can play an even more important role in their individual communities by emphasizing their traditional strengths and utilizing the assets of their national organization to help them solve their local problems."

In 1955, he said, the special conference decided that the UL had been on the right track all along, but needed to expand its

program for deeper and wider application of the UL method. The statement is just as true in 1964, he remarked.

In his "re-examination" of the UL, Dr. Herman Long referred to the late Charles S. Johnson's analysis at the Kansas City conference of 1955 in which the famed sociologist said "system-shaking" developments in American society rather than mere public exhortation to do right had resulted in improvements in the status of the Negro and race relations generally. As Dr. Johnson defined the role and function of the UL, the task of social and political statesmanship is to work with personalities and instrumentalities of the power structure. Events of recent years, Dr. Johnson pointed out, have made it politically expedient both nationally and internationally to give full democratic status to all Americans.

Dr. Long cited editor Harry Ashmore's statement to the Kansas City conference that simple prejudice was still the basic element in American public opinion, though there was less hostility and more apathy concerning the Negro's rights.

Eli Ginzberg proposed at that conference, said Dr. Long, that the NUL shift from emphasis on jobs to more deliberate concern with family structure, community influences and schooling.

The ten years since that conference, Dr. Long pointed out, have consolidated into national public policy the concepts that racial distinction is illegal and segregation and discrimination are prohibited by state authority and action.

Further, he said, the process of desegregation is under way. It is changing the total institutional pattern of our life and our communities, involving us in one of the most basic readjustments of American living patterns.

Dr. Long also cited the changed role of the federal government and federal administration — shifting from disinterested neutrality to active facilitator of change.

New factors of importance on the scene were listed by Dr. Long:

1) significant political power of the Negro population and the consequent power to influence national policy by Negro leaders.

2) emergence of new Negro leadership — more leaders, active over a wider range of affairs, and not controlled by nor responsible to whites.

3) increased significance of local community process in achieving equality.

4) favorable consensus that the righting of disadvantages and inequalities has been too long delayed and the changes taking place are both desired and necessary in American life.

5) development of an agenda in American race relations and thus a basis for discussion and resolution of issues.

The "frontiers" remaining, according to Dr. Long, include the political arena, "the main avenue through which new changes and new developments" in the fields of national, state and local policy are going to take place.

A second frontier: "to reverse the trend of the widening gap of racial disparity and opportunity which exists."

Third: shaping an outlook "which permits the Negro to see himself meaningfully as really part of two worlds" . . . and, hopefully, to prevent his flight from identity as a Negro.

Whitney Young told board members that though the UL boards have distinguished people on them, "our local boards have not distinguished themselves by their aggressive and responsible activities as board members in local Leagues." He said they all too often tended to see loyalties to staff people as more important than loyalties to programs and clientele of the UL. The basic commitment of a board member, he said, is to the Negro citizens of a community and to that community itself.

He urged board members to shoulder the responsibility of interpreting the need for the UL in these challenging times. Successfully done, this would bring in the financial and community support which

would make possible the staff and resources needed.

Board members must understand the times and the need for the UL to be in tune with them. Further, he maintained, flexibility is called for on the part of board members in understanding why the UL must take positions on certain things such as federal support.

Henry Steeger discussed the relationship between board and executive, stressing the need for seeing eye to eye on policy and letting the executive operate with a minimum of supervision. Finances, he said, are a basic responsibility of board members and he recommended that locals use new methods and counsel from the regional directors and the NUL Fund. He emphasized the need for active, vital people on UL boards to prevent stagnation. And board members, said Mr. Steeger, should leave policy statements to UL staff.

SESSION II

Panel Members:

Mrs. Austin L. Handy, president UL of Rhode Island

Mrs. Sophia Y. Jacobs, NUL trustee; chairman, UL of Greater New York; president, National Council of Women of the U.S.

Dr. Charles H. Parrish, Louisville UL board member; head, Department of Sociology, University of Louisville

Topic:

WHAT'S AHEAD?

The question "What's Ahead?" was tackled by board members in their afternoon session. Mrs. Austin Handy made a ringing plea for each board member to interpret, communicate, influence and implement UL programs in the section of the community he represents.

Mrs. Sophia Y. Jacobs predicted that an UL board member in future will need ability not only to interpret the UL but



LOUISVILLE BOARD MEMBER PARRISH EXCHANGES VIEWS WITH NATIONAL TRUSTEE MRS. SOPHIA JACOBS AND PROVIDENCE BOARD PRESIDENT MRS. AUSTIN HANDY

the role of the civil rights movement to his own community.

Dr. Charles Parrish said the UL is the only agency concerned directly with the problems of the "inner-city." It is important, he said, to educate the local establishment and the board can do an important job in this area.

In summarizing, Whitney Young addressed himself to questions raised during the afternoon's general discussion.

Reaching the grass roots community, he said, requires more effort by board members as well as staff. He suggested going through the influence groups and individuals and in particular reaching the mass media. The need for creating in the white community a sense of responsibility, stimulating response, courage and speaking out is urgent, he said. Too much of the burden is thrown on the victim.

He spoke of the benefits of diversity and the experience that integration can bring to whites and Negroes in preparing both for the demands of the national and international world of tomorrow.

Special effort is necessary, he reiterated, citing the background for the domestic

Marshall Plan in the needs of Negro citizens.

Fund-raising should be a board member requisite, he stated. Each should participate in the fund raising effort, even though he may not be wealthy himself. The need to gain support for responsible Negro leadership and programs "to translate despair into hope" is pressing and requires money, he pointed out.

The Youth Community, explained Mr. Young, is important because it offers additional choices to young people who want to participate in the civil rights revolution but not through the route of confrontation in Mississippi, for instance.

The executive director forecast the UL's emphases for the year ahead: voter education, implementation of the anti-poverty legislation and the Civil Rights Law. "These are all of equal importance," he said, and "each is dependent on the other." The problems ahead are difficult and complicated, he admitted. He urged Urban Leaguers always to reduce them to their simplest terms "in order to convey the full urgency and impact of our mission."

Mr. Young charged Urban Leaguers

constantly to assess their programs. "While we can look at ourselves and see great progress in the distance we have come in the last two, three, or four years, we still must take the attitude that we are divinely discontent . . . because as long as man anywhere suffers, then our job is not yet complete."

All-Staff Seminar on Poverty

Presiding:

Cernoria D. Johnson, director NUL Washington bureau

Summary Reports:

NUL regional directors M. Leo Bohanon, Raymond R. Brown, Clarence D. Coleman, Nelson C. Jackson and Henry A. Talbert

Program Implications:

NUL associate directors for program Otis E. Finley, Jr., Jeweldean Jones, Mahlon T. Puryear

Challenge:

Whitney M. Young, Jr., NUL executive director

On Wednesday, August 5 with the final Congressional vote on the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 imminent, the League added to the Conference program a searching review of the "War on Poverty" and the UL's involvement in it. The half-day, intensive session covered current community-UL action in UL cities; representing the Negro community locally and nationally in the anti-poverty effort; the implications of the pending legislation for each UL program area; and ways and means of including UL cities and constituents in the drive.

Cernoria Johnson in her opening remarks pointed out the scope of the new legislation. She stressed that under three titles of the new Law, ULs can assist in planning and implementing local programs:

Title I—concentrates on problems of youth and equipping youth with skills to find jobs.

Title II—helps poor communities fight their battles against causes of poverty with local resources mobilized in concrete programs aimed at inadequate housing, education, health care and family services.

Title VI—deals with recruitment, selection and training of Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) to provide workers for the Job Corps, community action and work-training programs.

Mrs. Johnson reviewed the League's direct efforts in behalf of this newly-awakened national concern for the disadvantaged, represented by the anti-poverty legislation. She specifically cited:

1. Whitney Young's testimony before the House Subcommittee on the War on Poverty, April 14, 1964, and the persuasive impact it made on Congressmen, the press corps and other agency representatives present.
2. A two-day shirtsleeve session between NUL program staff, Washington Bureau and regional directors and fifteen representatives from the Economic Opportunity Task Forces and the U.S. Departments of Labor and HEW last May. She also stressed the continual consultation that has taken place with Congressmen and committee staffs on the legislation and its implementation.
3. Loan of NUL personnel to serve as consultants to the anti-poverty Task Forces. Otis E. Finley, Jr., to the Task Force on Title I; Nelson C. Jackson to the Title II Task Force and Betti Whaley to the Title VI Task Force.

To help map action programs for local communities, said Mrs. Johnson, the NUL

Washington office has counseled federal agencies, Congressmen and the committee concerned on guidelines for community assessment and program implementation.

The League's five regional directors reported on the current status of community-UL action to implement the anti-poverty campaign at the local level. The reports ranged from Portland, Oregon, where the drive will be directed by a steering committee of five people, including the UL director and two of the UL officers; and New Orleans, where the UL executive is one of 12 professionals who screen projects for the city to cities which had made no attempt to organize to take advantage of the new Law and others in which local organizations had been formed (some were even then on the way to Washington to consult with government officials) but had neither included nor discussed needs with representatives of the Negro community.

Various local ULs were reported to be included in programs related to the new legislation:

- Study centers and anti-dropout program in Louisville
- A United Appeal grant to the Muskegon UL for a concerted attack on a nearby rural slum of 1,500 "hard core" deprived persons
- New Orleans housing studies which have resulted in a \$500,000 center and a proposal for another \$350,000 one
- The Leadership in Education for Advancement in Phoenix (LEAP) program for which the local UL will provide contract services in developing neighborhood councils
- San Francisco, where the UL has been contracted to motivate and prepare youth and adults for training programs and a youth opportunity center for which the UL was asked to find two qualified persons to deal with business and labor in developing job opportunities

The pattern apparent in early August appeared to be generally one of too little inclusion of UL and Negro community representatives in the planning and organizing of anti-poverty activity at the local city level. Kenneth Crooks, director, Education and Youth Incentives, of the NUL's Southern Regional Office, reported that in the south UL executives were not integrally involved and enmeshed at top levels in planning. Clarence Coleman, Southern Regional Director, noted that the south is "the region richest in poverty in the U.S., where 52 percent of the nation's Negroes live." He announced that there will be a "congress" on poverty in Atlanta in December.

It was clear from the regional directors' reports that much remains to be done in developing a dialogue with local communities about the anti-poverty campaign and that use of volunteer leadership, development of educational programs and actual project proposals are still to come in most cities. The League's role as a catalyst and professional consultant or supplier of services to implement the new Law was stressed. But it was evident that most UL cities had been slow to move ahead to secure benefits of the new legislation for their citizens.

Again and again the point was made that under the Law (Titles II and VI) projects which do not include representation of the Negro community can be stopped, or funds can be withdrawn by federal authorities. This power should be invoked, staff members were reminded, to insure inclusion of minority citizens in the benefits of anti-poverty programs.

NUL program directors emphasized the opportunities in the new Law. Jeweldean Jones spoke of the UL professional staff member developing the concept of service by acting as a community planner without losing sight of the overall picture. She mentioned the concept of saturation of services in which a family center may serve an area, providing information services for referral, counseling, day care, recruiting, etc.

Otis Finley urged delegates to find out if training centers and youth opportunity centers are to be established in UL communities and to determine whether funds are available for this purpose.

Mahlon Puryear called for staff members to exert their imagination to develop projects within the framework of the anti-poverty program. He suggested that ULs invite their communities to tell them what is needed at the grass roots level. Skills Bank staff members have been required to come up with project suggestions within the scope of the legislation.

Local UL ideas for proposals should be presented to the national UL office for help in drafting and follow-through, Puryear said. He stressed the need to relate projects to practical needs, citing the Chicago project in which 1,000 men were trained as taxi drivers, filling station attendants, etc., while this was balanced by programs training men in drafting, electronics, etc.

Whitney Young staked out UL's right to claim a share of responsibility for the anti-poverty program. It is to some extent, he said, the UL's domestic Marshall Plan under another name. He cited specific discussions with government officials concerning the UL serving as a coordinating body at the local level. Government officials know, he said, that the UL provided, at the invitation of legislative committees, expert testimony; that the UL has a major concern in such legislation, and that the UL staffs are professionally equipped to execute anti-poverty projects. Furthermore, he stated, the government is demonstrating willingness to channel funds through ULs.

Therefore, in this effort, he said, the UL is on trial. The regional directors are charged to see that local ULs form cooperative groups or get on the boards of existing groups. Washington, he emphasized, will not approve any programs which exclude Negroes. The government is, in fact, anxious to encourage Negro participation in all existing institutions and machinery. The government is look-

ing for peaceful change through existing leadership organizations. The League is seeking imaginative programs, particularly tangible, real programs aimed at the young, and programs of an emergency nature geared to the urgency of current conditions.

Job Development and Employment

Planning and Implementing Realistic Opportunities Programs

Presiding:

Martin E. Segal, NUL trustee, and chairman, job development and employment committee; president, Martin E. Segal Company

Introduction:

Mahlon T. Puryear, NUL associate director

Speaker:

Hon. W. Willard Wirtz, secretary of labor, U.S. Department of Labor

Secretary Wirtz's address to the Tuesday, August 4 general session was entitled "A Full Economy Requires Full Manpower Utilization." Echoing the UL's call for a domestic Marshall Plan, Mr. Wirtz told delegates that motivation is one of the most serious problems faced in preparing American citizens to compete for jobs.

Mr. Wirtz indicated that some 35,000,000 young people will enter the labor market in this decade. Of these, he said, 8,000,000 will have no high school diplomas and no jobs unless massive retraining and educational programs can be advanced. In the Harlems and Appalachias of the nation between 100,000 and 300,000 young people between 16 and 21 years of age drop out of Labor Department statistics only to turn up in the figures

on soaring teenage violence in our city streets, he said. The fate of these youngsters as to job futures was sealed, the Cabinet officer stated, between the ages of three and six. "There is more unemployment created at that stage of life than at any other time," he declared, because of inferior education, lack of motivation, family disorganization and indifference.

"There is plenty of work to be done in this country by all of the people who live in it and by all of the machines their minds can invent," said Mr. Wirtz. "If we simply cleared out the slums in our cities and built the schools we need and the hospitals we'd have a manpower shortage rather than a manpower excess." But, he cautioned, "machines are using up or taking up all the unskilled jobs in this country and there is no longer any place in this society for the person who lacks a full education and who lacks a usable skill." This, he said, is a new fact of life in America. "The problem of equipping the unprepared to find jobs is urgent and enormous," in his words.

"Equal opportunity," he said, "will not come merely by preventing the denial of opportunity to those disadvantaged by reason of race or previous condition of environment; that's like trying to get rid of dandelions by cutting off the tops. Equal opportunity will come only by digging out the roots of inequality, by giving those who are at least ready for opportunity the preparation they need."

Unemployment among all youth is alarming but has reached 25 percent among Negroes. Yet, he said, Labor Department information indicates that only one of four Negro youth is unemployed because of discrimination. The other three lack necessary qualifications or motivation, he claimed.

The Labor Secretary endorsed the domestic Marshall Plan recommendation that our best schools be placed in the slums and that the nation "make a flat commitment to all boys and girls that they will get all the education they can use right through college."

He reported that 90 percent of young people surveyed wanted more training and education. The Manpower Training and Development Act, Wirtz said, has aided some 200,000 persons in this way.

"The great question for the future," he said, "is what institutional form the civil rights movement is going to assume on a permanent basis, and the answer to that question lies partly with the leadership of the movement and partly and very significantly with the response of the country to that movement. . . . If the movement results only in the elimination of discrimination against Negroes, it will have been one of the two great social and economic accomplishments of the



SECRETARY OF LABOR WIRTZ AND NATIONAL TRUSTEE SEGAL

century in America. If, as is possible, the civil rights movement becomes, as part of the human rights movement, the agency for lifting all disadvantaged Americans from the human bondage of poverty, then its accomplishments will be the perfection of the purpose of the democracy and of the society and of life itself."

Citing parallels between the labor and civil rights movements, Secretary Wirtz concluded "I find in these two movements the reason, frankly, for the 20th Century as far as social advance is concerned, because between them they are lifting from human bondage the disadvantaged . . . there is the definite view common to both

. . . that we are not to pay a price in terms of human hostages for progress, that it simply isn't worth it and the insistence of the two is that there be something done about it."

Speaker:

G. William Miller, chairman, advisory council to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; president, Textron, Inc.

Mr. Miller's subject was "Where Do We Go from Here?" He described the first full year of the Plans for Progress program. In 12 months the number of participating corporations increased from 100 to 260. The number of new jobs for non-whites in the companies in the program one full year (about 1/3 of the total) reached 41,000, of which 12,000 were in salaried categories.

The Plans for Progress program is, he said, a partnership between the business community and minority groups; a voluntary, free-enterprise approach to solving basic problems. It is, he claimed, faster and more efficient than the red-tape-laden methods of government. Miller also mentioned the employers' councils which have been inaugurated in Rhode Island, Connecticut, Baltimore and Akron to carry the concept of equal opportunity to the local communities.

Calling for broadened sights in training programs, Miller referred to the G.I. Bill and the huge investment in human potential that paid back in taxes far more than its cost. He suggested a similar approach for insuring that all citizens could go as far as possible up the educational ladder.

The Plans for Progress program, Miller stated, aims to get down to the local plant activities level and involve local managers to overcome criticisms of lack of initiative on the part of local plants of cooperating companies.

In a progress report on the phenomenal success of the Skills Bank, Mahlon T. Puryear, project director, National Skills

Bank, told about the first year of operation. Conceived as a demonstration program of 20 to 25 local Skills Banks with some 2,500 available workers in a national reservoir, it ballooned to a full-fledged activity in 53 local Banks and a National Skills Bank totaling more than 10,000 applicants. Though it was hoped that 200 to 300 might be placed, more than 1,700 persons had been placed in jobs.

Interest in the program has been extraordinary, Puryear said. He listed film strips, moving pictures, hundreds of news items and radio mentions of the Skills Bank and a fall "CBS Reports" television feature program on the subject. Local Leagues, as a result of the Skills Bank program, have secured additional financing for planning and operating vital programs.

Other League-initiated programs were reported by Puryear, including the \$122,000 federally-underwritten teacher orientation project with Yeshiva University in New York; the on-the-job training project to train customer engineers for IBM — partially federally-financed; and successful efforts with more than 200 major cor-

porations to increase their college recruiting of Negroes.

Concurrent workshop sessions on job development and employment dug into four prime subject areas. Their results were reported in a summary session chaired by Martin E. Segal, chairman, Skills Bank advisory committee. Reports included:

1. *How to Organize and Operate a Skills Bank* — Victor R. Daly, deputy director, U.S. Employment Service for the District of Columbia, stated that for maximum effectiveness a Skills Bank must involve public and private agencies, civil rights groups, fraternal and service organizations in its program. Further, the Skills Bank must have the cooperation of the state and public employment services and must be explained to employers to insure realistic job orders.

2. *Using Government and other Funds to Plan and Implement JDE Programs* — Adolph Holmes, assistant director, NUL, for job development and employment, sent out a check list for identifying problems and needs of the community and develop-

ing non-duplicative projects to meet those needs. The NUL would, he noted, aid the local League with project proposals; further, the national office expects to collect and send to local ULs reports about planned and successful JDE programs being underwritten with public and private funds. Local ULs were urged to determine and anticipate new job skill needs and propose projects to meet such needs, through available public and private funds. Local ULs should explore the possibility of "apprentice talent banks," Holmes urged.

3. The group discussing *A New Team for Job Training — Government, Management, Urban League* was chaired by Miss Elizabeth J. Kuck, supervisor, personnel policies and procedures for International Harvester Company. It recommended that:

- a) the UL with labor, industry and government should sponsor or develop on-the-job training projects for persons with potential who lack employable skills;
- b) the UL should develop programs to aid local ULs to inform their

MEET THE PRESS WITH SECRETARY WIRTZ



community groups about labor market conditions.

4. *Updating College Recruiting Programs* — was the subject of the fourth group, chaired by Arthur H. Evans, manager of employment, Radio Corporation of America. The group recommended that the UL should serve as a consultant in improving curricula tailored to manpower requirements.

Discussants concluded that the times demand an effort to "step up" programs and activities to find jobs for America's non-white citizens. On the part of the UL this would require, they said,

- 1) more effective interpretive working materials;
- 2) stronger local job development and employment advisory and program committees;
- 3) more money.

At the Wednesday August 5th luncheon of the UL's Job Development and Education council, Arthur A. Chapin, special



SKILLS BANK HEAD M.T. PURYEAR

assistant to the Secretary of Labor, described gains that have been made in hiring and upgrading Negroes in government and in business firms with government contracts. For continued progress, however, Chapin said private employers must do more than just open their doors. They must devise methods to use Negroes who may have basic skills but lack technical education to qualify for upper-grade jobs. He suggested as an example that employers who need an accountant hire a Negro with a mathematics background and train him in accountancy on the job.

Education and Youth Incentives

SESSION I

Presiding:

Dr. Jerome H. Holland, NUL trustee and chairman, education and youth incentives committee; president, Hampton Institute

Remarks:

Dr. Sam V. Noe, superintendent of schools, Louisville, Kentucky

Introduction:

Edwin C. Berry, executive director, Chicago UL

Speaker:

Hon. Francis Keppel, U.S. commissioner of education, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Speaking on "An Act of Congress for the Rights of Man," Commissioner Keppel told UL delegates at the opening general session on Monday that his office will cut off federal aid to school districts which refuse to integrate. Title VI of the Civil Rights Law says that federal funds may not be used where discrimination persists, but shall be withdrawn. However, Mr. Keppel pointed out that federal aid to local elementary and secondary schools averages less than 5 percent of their budgets

To the Office of Education, said the Commissioner, Title VI of the new Law "means that every citizen, every taxpayer, is entitled not merely to the equal protection of the laws but also to the benefits of his government—and that equality can never be real so long as segregation is entrenched in any part of the land."

Mr. Keppel spoke also about Title IV of the Law and Office of Education responsibilities for "active promotion and assistance in the desegregation of public education." A survey and report will be made to the President and the Congress

"on the availability of equal educational opportunities in public education at every level. We intend to study thoroughly all questions relating to discrimination and segregation in education. We intend to assure to every individual an opportunity to pursue high quality education without regard to race, or religion or national origin," he said.

Further, the Office of Education will, upon request, help schools and communities prepare, adopt and implement desegregation plans. It is authorized to arrange institutes for special training of school personnel so that they may deal more effectively with educational problems of desegregation. It also may finance "long-range, effective community plans and preparations of the kind which have already produced notable but often unnoticed examples of peaceful school desegregation.

"We shall move to execute the intent of the Law, not only because law and morality require affirmative action, but because good educational practice demands it," said Mr. Keppel. "By breaking the lockstep of discrimination we will liberate the full potential of American education."

The education administrator stated that "our immediate challenge is presented by today's children of poverty and discrimination," and suggested avenues (now being developed) to aid them:

- lower the age limits for public school
- begin to work with 3 and 4 year olds
- discard preconceived notions about interest level and exposure to the world of deprived children
- broaden horizons of experience of deprived children—"providing more than equal resources to make up for inequality"
- change the concept of the "normal" school day and year—perhaps make schools full-time resources for the whole year for the whole community
- "search out parents as partners in educational enterprise"



YOUTH COMMUNITY MEMBERS MEET WITH ADVISOR MRS. CLARK

- "perhaps most important, we need to create a corps of outstanding teachers for these schools"
- end discrimination within the education profession itself

Mr. Keppel concluded that "our schools should be, can be, the people's major instrument to democratize society, to give substance and meaning to the promise of America. When the creative energies of the civil rights movement are allied and joined with the best traditions of American education, then we shall find beyond *legislation* for equality the *reality* of equality."

Edwin Berry, in introducing Dr. Keppel, urged the tax dollar concept be adopted widely. In it, no part of any tax dollar would ever be spent for discriminatory purposes and no government services extended to any discriminatory program. In Chicago, he said, education has not caught up with *Plessy vs Ferguson* (referring to 1896 Supreme Court decision which established the doctrine of "separate but equal"). The ghetto schools are over-

crowded and have neophyte, inadequate teachers. The city allocates less money for schools in Negro areas than in integrated areas, fewer dollars to integrated schools than to those which are all-white.

Panel Discussion

Presiding:

Rev. F. G. Sampson, Louisville UL board member, chairman, education and youth incentives committee

Reaction Panel:

Dr. Samuel D. Proctor, associate director, Peace Corps; former president, A & T College of North Carolina

Dr. David G. Salten, superintendent of schools, New Rochelle, New York

Topic:

Toward Greater Partnership between School and Community for the Education of All Children

Dr. Samuel D. Proctor cited the reservoir of Peace Corps members as a source of "new, inspired teachers" who would upgrade the quality of instruction

for children from deprived homes. More than 5,000 Peace Corps volunteers will be returned to the U.S. annually after completing their assignments abroad. "The kind of motivation that led them into the Peace Corps," said Dr. Proctor, "would be invaluable in American education."

Dr. Proctor defended the private predominantly Negro colleges of the south. They provide necessary education and will for years to come, he said, and cited the strengthening process now going on by which faculty interchange with other schools and colleges and refresher courses in which elementary and secondary teachers from the south are updated on teaching techniques and course content.

Dr. David Salten observed that teachers from even the best teacher training institutions have little or no human relations training or experience. Often, he said, they overestimate the ability of well-dressed, grammatical students and underestimate children from deprived circumstances. He mentioned experiments in new methods of grouping to prevent resegregation, and a work-study program to diminish drop-outs in high school.

Audience Discussion

Presiding:

Kenneth B. M. Crooks, director of education and youth incentives, Southern Regional Office, NUL

In the discussion which followed, methods of aiding youth were cited: study centers in the community; a corps of volunteer tutors; mothers contacting and counseling disadvantaged mothers; more recreational facilities and underwriting of cultural experiences for Negro youngsters by Negro and other service clubs.

SESSION II

Presiding:

Owen F. Pegler, board member, UL of Westchester County, (N.Y.), chairman, education and youth incentive committee

Speaker:

Otis E. Finley, Jr., NUL associate director for education and youth incentives

Otis Finley reviewed "Progress and Challenges in Education and Youth Incentives." During the year, he said, there had been a meeting on problems of faculty integration at Kentucky University; a meeting on integration with public school superintendents at Ohio State University; and the UL had been sought as a consultant on the Civil Rights Law with respect to HEW responsibilities in education.

Finley spoke of the need for more character in character-building organizations such as Big Brothers, the Y's, the Boy and Girl Scouts, etc. The League movement has a responsibility to promote education in its broadest context, Finley said, beyond the framework of formal classroom situations. Thus agencies such as those mentioned should be included. They should be sensitized to the needs of minority group youth and should program activities in the Harlems of our nation, he suggested.

New Urban League films sponsored by New York Telephone Company on dropouts and by New Jersey Bell Telephone on "How to Apply for a Job" were cited by the education specialist as typical of the kind of audio-visual aids needed. He spoke of the UL role as catalyst and expeditor in calling for a national march on libraries, urging free education through the college level for the qualified, for pre-school programs for those needing them, and in mobilizing parents in support of schools.

A workshop session (on *Education and Youth Incentives*) stressed the need to change attitudes and values of school personnel so they can meet the needs of minority group children. The need to influence policy-making bodies to become committed and involved to improve education for all children was highlighted by Mr. Finley.

UL Youth Community

Under the co-chairmanship of Marcia Young and Nancy Steeger, the UL Youth Community convened its first meeting Saturday, August 1, with a workshop on the theme "Youth Meets the Challenge in Human Rights."

Appropriately, this session was addressed by Mrs. June Williams Middleton, customers' broker with the New York investment firm of Hornblower & Weeks. She cited herself as an example of a Negro who had prepared educationally and was able to take advantage of the



MRS. CLARK AND CATHOLIC CHARITIES' FATHER REESE

opportunity to become the first woman and Negro hired by her firm in this capacity.

On Monday, August 3, Charles McCarthy, director of the cooperative effort for equal educational opportunities, told the youth group of the program which extends aid to highly motivated students who are deprived of the chance to go to college. His organization seeks qualified minority group youth for the nation's leading private colleges.

At their business meeting on Wednesday, August 5, the youth group considered possible community action projects such as:

- "big sister, big brother" efforts

- participation in tutoring programs
- research projects on Negro history
- exchange programs between white and Negro ghetto schools
- conducting library registration drives

In addition to these sessions, the Youth Community managed to attend major program events of the Conference, tour the city—including a tobacco plant, Churchill Downs, Louisville University, the city court house—meet and talk with the mayor, participate in several round-table, free-swinging discussions and hold a "Hootenanny."

Job Development and Education Council

UL Responsibilities in the Struggle for Improved Education

E and YI Panel Discussion

Leader:

Otis E. Finley, Jr.

Panelists:

Sylvia Meeks, director of education and youth incentives, Philadelphia UL

Lee E. Hill, field secretary, Warren UL

Andrew E. Thomas, director job development and employment, St. Louis UL

Beryl B. Williams, director, job development and employment, Columbus UL

Andrew Thomas reviewed the Supreme Court's 1954 decision on integration in the public schools. He outlined the current status of integration of student bodies, faculties and administrative personnel, both south and north.

Panelist Lee Hill described the UL staff responsibility to help job referral

persons and counselors to update their views by securing valid information about occupational futures.

Sylvia Meeks called for the UL to assume responsibility for leading a reconstruction of public education. She urged counseling school authorities on the educational climate and conditions needed by Negro children and involvement of all available community resources, including business and industry, civic groups and colleges and teacher-training institutions. The UL national office, she said, should set up a central resource file of educational research, programs and activities throughout the nation for local UL background and use. She recommended that professional staff members of local ULs meet to discuss and assess current trends in education to avoid imbalance of educational effort.

Beryl Williams presented a paper on the need for involvement of schools, parents, and community in improving the quality as well as equality in education. He urged establishment of public education vocational training programs beyond high school level and inclusion in educational and teaching aids more positive views of Negro life in contemporary America. He also recommended UL initiative in bringing about individual and group conferences with parents.

Delegates also focused their discussions on adult education (the need to retrain people displaced by automation); libraries (the need to stimulate Negroes to take advantage of available library services); and teacher workshops (the need for in-service programs in human relations for all school personnel).

Housing

The League's Stake in Urban Renewal

Presiding:

Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr., NUL trustee and chairman, Housing Committee

Speaker:

Hon. Robert C. Weaver, administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency

Dr. Robert C. Weaver reported to the NUL Conference on "Where Urban Renewal Stands Today."

He told delegates at the opening general session on Monday that 70 percent of Americans live in urban areas today, and that urban renewal is reshaping the environment in more than 700 American towns and cities through more than 1,400 projects. Rightly pursued, he said, urban renewal can play a vital role in solving major problems of our society in years to come—civil rights, job opportunity, education and others.

In its fifteen years of existence, the urban renewal program, Weaver said, has become a major force in rescuing cities from slums and blight, rebuilding their economic bases and developing cultural, business and housing facilities for healthy urban growth. Reviewing the history of urban renewal, Weaver pointed out past



FRANK STANLEY, SR., ALFRED TAYLOR
AND WASHINGTON BUREAU HEAD,
CERNORIA JOHNSON

weaknesses and what had been done to overcome them. He pledged to do all in his power to make relocation a positive rehousing program for those now living in substandard homes.

On the plus side, the housing official noted that urban renewal has been responsible for greater numbers of mixed occupancy dwellings and more bi-racial

living; further, he stated that almost all relocated families have up-graded the quality of their housing, though he admitted that relocation frequently has contributed to extension of existing ghettos, particularly in extremely "tight" central city housing markets.

Dr. Weaver claimed that the long-term success of city rebuilding efforts is tied to making the urban renewal process more human. He mentioned demonstration grant programs to develop new approaches to relocation, self-help, adjustment, rehabilitation and neighborhood leadership. There is increased emphasis, he said, on the urban renewal regulation requiring that each program reflect the wishes and thinking of a wide cross-section of local citizens. The Housing Agency has insisted on active, functioning Citizens' Advisory Committees before re-certifying programs and has pressed for effective performance by such committees.

Speaker:

Elon H. Micels, director of planning and urban renewal, Urban Renewal Administration, Inkster, Michigan

Following Dr. Weaver, Elon H. Micels described the urban renewal planning process. Urban renewal, he said, is a tool to rebuild communities for the benefit of all citizens, regardless of race. He urged de-emphasis of race and elimination of racial factors in planning. "The more emphasis that is placed on the Negro aspect," he said, "the more danger that urban renewal may result in simply being a political tool . . . to win votes at any given time" and to lead to racial conflict.

Micels conceded that "color-blind planning" may hurt some residents, including Negroes "because they occupy more substandard housing. Individual cases must be considered, he said, but basically, decisions must be made on the logic of a situation . . . to win the respect of all fair-minded citizens of your community."

Urban renewal does not simply provide housing for lower income families, he

stated. This, he said, "just perpetuates the ghetto." He stressed that urban renewal should be logical development according to a comprehensive plan which includes decent housing but also considers commercial and industrial development, if necessary.

Speaker:

J. D. Leeth, executive director, Urban Renewal and Community Development, Louisville, Kentucky

Execution of an urban renewal project was detailed by J. D. Leeth.

Timing, he said, is the single most important factor in urban renewal. The average project takes 18 months to plan, during which meetings are held with property owners, tenants and businessmen. When planning is complete, relocation personnel determine the needs of each family affected and begin matching facilities with families, business needs and resources.

"The future of project residents, both families and businesses, must be safeguarded at all times by the responsible agency," said Leeth. "Human needs are our first concern, not speed." He described the demolition and redevelopment stages and endorsed the importance of citizen participation in the program.

Discussion Session

Convener:

Sheldon C. May, board member, Los Angeles UL, and chairman, housing committee

In a wide-ranging discussion session on "The League's Stake in Urban Renewal," UL staff members and housing specialists advanced concrete recommendations which ranged from a White House Conference on housing and urban development to stimulating site residents to see that their needs are taken care of in renewal plans and public housing programs.

Delegates recommended that the Pres-

ident's Executive Order on Housing be extended to cover financing made with FDIC and FSLIC insured loans. They called for establishment of a cabinet-level Department of Urban Development; for insertion of a standard non-restrictive covenant in all deeds for property sold by the government; for tax abatement legislation to facilitate rehabilitation of substandard property. Further, they called for a Congressional investigation of slums and excess profits; and for regional urban renewal offices to hold up certification of projects unless effective, early citizen participation is evident.

Federal regulations should be changed to protect citizens moved in federal highway programs, said discussants. And compliance offices should be established at construction sites to aid inclusion of minorities in housing projects. Others suggested that the local ULs serve as relocation agencies. Educational materials are needed, it was noted, to describe successful examples of integration in housing in which developers, brokers, etc., have cooperated. And, said discussants, the UL should press for adequate code enforcement in local housing to help families not directly affected by renewal programs.

The League's Role in Relocation

Presiding:

Paget L. Alves, Jr., NUL associate director for housing

James G. Banks, executive director of the United Planning Organization, urged council members at the pre-conference sessions on Saturday, August 1st, to keep in view the social, political and economic dimensions necessary for successful use of essential housing by displaced families. He cited studies of slum communities that indicate certain positive values are destroyed by urban renewal and the survival of hostility to the major social forces in the community. He called for better understanding of the social structure of slums and the influence of community actions in order to make possible wholesome

social environments.

Recognizing that urban poverty is a major problem in family relocation, he stated that unless equal opportunities in housing are available for non-white families of every status the imperfections of family relocation will persist. Banks called for social planning of broad scale and modern concept, with a coordinated, priority-conscious approach to jobs and human services and involvement of individuals at the neighborhood level in meaningful decision-making about local and regional affairs.

Other discussants outlined the UL role in relocation in their cities:

J. Ronald Pittman, director of housing, UL of Pittsburgh, described Pittsburgh's experience in which the local UL played a vital role in planning and execution of programs. He spoke of the housing authority's social planning which uses racial quotas in both private and public housing.

Kenneth J. Augustine, director of health, welfare and housing of the South Bend UL, told the experience of working with the city council, redevelopment commission and area residents on a current renewal project in that city.

James Ethridge, housing director of the Columbus UL, called that city's segregated housing market the major problem facing relocatees. It forces Columbus Negroes into inferior housing, though some can afford better, he said.

Robert V. Teague, health and welfare director of the Boston UL, pointed out that the Hub City's \$90 million renewal project is not providing low-income housing for those who need it most. Progress in eliminating the Negro ghetto could be made, he charged, if qualified Negroes were on planning and policy-making posts in the city's renewal program. Available health and welfare services must be expanded, he said, if "human renewal" is to take place along with relocation.

Thomas H. Dickey, Jr., assistant executive director of the Cleveland UL, said

that League's role until 1964 had been "to needle, to prod, to criticize" and finally to turn to other areas of housing because of seeming lack of progress. However, this year, he said, there have been hopeful signs, primarily in the form of meetings of the Citizens Advisory Committee and working sub-committees then getting under way. These include UL representation.

John P. Davies, housing program director of the Los Angeles UL, said the League can best advise on relocation standards, provide research data, bid for adequate moving expenses, help educate and counsel relocatees, act as spokesman concerning special problems of the aged and low-income residents, sometime serve as a coordinating agency and assist the relocation agency with local legislators or officials.

Calvin E. Davis, associate director of the San Francisco Bay Area UL, said urban renewal there has replaced substantially integrated communities with housing beyond the financial reach of most non-whites. Discrimination in the city's housing market and San Francisco's piecemeal approaches to solving its housing problems rather than developing a comprehensive community plan, were listed by Davis as primary problems requiring League attention.

During the Conference a new program was announced by the UL in the field of housing. Called "Operation Equality" it breaks new ground in its scope and breadth of concept.

Its objective is to help families and communities in efforts toward integrated housing by making available skilled, professional and experienced persons to counsel, guide and aid and by operating an unprecedented 12-point housing information and action program. The program involves the NUL associate director for housing, the eastern regional office of NUL and seven local Leagues in the New York Metropolitan Area.

Among other things, the project will:

- serve as a clearing house of listings

of families and communities seeking open occupancy, and specific housing opportunities

- secure cooperation of real estate brokers
- negotiate voluntary listings from developers, sellers and renters
- help educate consumers about housing
- stimulate citizen group action for open occupancy housing
- work with officials, leaders and groups to ease entry of new families into communities.

Health and Welfare

LUNCHEON

Poverty Amid Plenty

Presiding:

Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr.

Moderator:

Lisle C. Carter, Jr.

Speaker:

Jack T. Conway, special consultant, community action programs, Office of Economic Opportunity; executive director on leave, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO

Because of the technological, civil rights and armaments revolutions, said Mr. Conway, over the next few years the capabilities of the nation's institutions to meet the problems we face will be severely tested. Addressing the Tuesday, August 4th luncheon he then reviewed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, with special reference to the community action section. The legislation earmarks \$135 million to assist local communities to develop action programs to root out poverty.

Essential to any community action organizations, said the special consultant, are (1) strong commitment by the chief executive officer and principal department heads of the community, including the school system; (2) "there has to be strong private involvement by health and welfare voluntary organizations and also functional groups — business community, labor organizations, civil rights organizations, church groups;" (3) "representation from the poor people themselves."

Conway stressed that anti-poverty funds cannot be used to underwrite regular school system operating costs. The money must be used in remedial or supplemental efforts.

"This legislation," he pointed out, "is designed as a beginning, as I look upon it, almost as a first step in the UL's Marshall Plan. It's not enough, it's just a beginning, it's a \$1 billion program in the first year; it will be expanded obviously in subsequent years and changed to fit conditions based upon experience."

Presiding:

Lisle C. Carter, Jr., NUL trustee and chairman health and welfare Committee; deputy assistant secretary, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Speaker:

Dr. Aaron W. Christensen, deputy chief, U.S. Public Health Service, Department of Health, Education and Welfare

In a talk before the Tuesday, August 4th general session on "Comprehensive Community Health Services," Dr. Christensen called for teamwork by the UL with the federal government to eradicate local health problems. Such cooperation should point out to communities both the obstacles and opportunities in securing health services, he said.

Ignorance and apathy cause most health problems among Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican concentrations in our cities,



HEALTH AND WELFARE LUNCHEON SPEAKER JACK CONWAY WITH NATIONAL TRUSTEES MRS. KELLER AND MR. CARTER

Christensen claimed. Furthermore, in those areas there are usually serious gaps in health services, he stated. To overcome such problems the public health official recommended that the League participate in new approaches such as block-by-block surveys of community health needs. The resulting information could provide bases for federal aid under existing legislation such as the Vaccination Assistance Act of 1961, the Migrant Workers Act of 1962, the Community Services Act of 1961 and the Hill-Burton Act.

The Vaccination Assistance Act may finance inoculations and community education programs. The Community Services Act covers home services and other-than-hospital health services, including home nursing. Hill-Burton provisions allow special medical services from central city hospitals to outlying areas. Further, predicted Dr. Christensen, the anti-poverty legislation would aid in improving public health.

Speaker:

Dr. Walter J. Lear, member, NUL health and welfare committee, subcommittee on health; deputy Commissioner of Health, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Reporting on "Negroes and Health Services," Dr. Lear said that the elimination of racial barriers will not assure

Negroes of good medical care. "Even when available without discrimination, health services are neither adequate nor can they be properly used given the circumstances under which many Negroes live." This is so, he noted, because of the cost of medical care, its poor organization and people's ignorance about health and services.

There is a great shortage of qualified Negro health workers, Dr. Lear said. "Consequently, every qualified Negro health worker today can find a job appropriate to his training and experience, although not always in the institution or city of his choice." Race, he stated, is no longer a barrier to the special preparation needed for a health career. "A qualified Negro can be certain that . . . he can gain admittance to an accredited school in the specialty of his choosing."

There are few Negroes entering health careers, Dr. Lear pointed out, because few are qualified and even fewer appear interested. "No significant increase in the supply of Negro health workers is possible until segregated and ghetto schools are abolished and until the quality of public education at all levels is substantially improved."

Speaker:

Dr. Arthur J. Lesser, director, division of health services, U.S. Children's Bureau,

Department of Health, Education and Welfare

Dr. Lesser spoke of the pressing need for comprehensive child and maternal health services.

Though premature births occur more frequently among non-whites, this is so mainly because of low income and inadequate prenatal care rather than racial characteristics, he said. "It is of great concern," he emphasized, "that such large numbers of women are receiving little or no prenatal care and the proportion seems to be increasing." His statistics indicated that the percentage of women without prenatal care delivered at hospitals in Atlanta, Dallas, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., and the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, New York, ranged from 20 percent to 45 percent.

Dr. Lesser quoted California and Texas studies of factors preventing adequate prenatal care. Items cited were: transportation difficulties and expense; too restrictive eligibility requirements; cost; finding somebody to stay with other children; working mothers; age of patient, particularly unmarried minors; dissatisfaction with the clinic; lack of understanding or motivation; fear of doctors and of authority and cultural differences.

Speaker:

Hobart C. Jackson, chairman, subcommittee on aging of NUL Health and Welfare Committee; administrator, Stephen Smith Home for the Aged, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Speaking on "Comprehensive Health Services for the Older Negro Citizen," Mr. Jackson called for a change in attitude and philosophy toward older people. This would be necessary to develop positive programs for them, he said.

Health problems press the elderly, he pointed out, and health insurance meets no more than 1/14 of total costs for all aged and proportionately much less for Negro aged. He reviewed existing federal

programs which provide some medical assistance support.

Mr. Jackson urged communities to offer both preventive and health maintenance services for older people. Institutions to provide direct health and welfare services to elderly citizens now care for only 5 percent of those eligible. And of these, only 3 percent are Negroes, he pointed out.

It is essential, he said, that more Negroes be "on national, state and local boards and commissions to determine program policies and services affecting the lives of older persons." He also urged increasing pressure on "denominational and other non-profit sectarian homes for the aged for the admission of the Negro elderly."

The comprehensive health services older people require, stated Mr. Jackson, such as preventive, diagnostic, therapeutic and restorative services, can best be made available to all citizens through the community's resources, supplemented by state and federal aid.

The Health, Welfare and Housing Council of the UL met August 1 to go over specific UL programs, focussing on principles and methods.

Solomon P. Gethers, director of the health and welfare department of the UL of Philadelphia told of efforts in his state to bring public assistance payments to the level of minimum health and decency. In his case history report he concluded that the essentials necessary to improve public welfare programs include: (1) working with the community outside the usual agency-committee structure; (2) dramatizing the program to win the attention and support of the public; and (3) working more effectively with the political structure and elected representatives.

Vigdor B. Grossman, associate director, community services department, St. Paul UL, described a project dealing with ADC mothers. It was intended to determine the

problems of the women, build relationships between case workers and clients and improve case handling. Through a series of unstructured discussion sessions many of the ADC mothers, over a period of months, developed initiative, independence, related positively to workers and other mothers and revealed problem areas and possible avenues of rehabilitation.

Mrs. Lucinda J. Gordon, director, health and welfare department, Milwaukee UL, reported on an institute held for clerical and professional workers of that county's public welfare department. It was planned "to confront welfare workers with the realities which their Negro clients face, to provide an opportunity for these



LEAGUE STAFFERS, RUTH KING, JEWELDEAN JONES, NELSON JACKSON AND BETTI WHALEY

workers to assess their role and relate this to constructive social work techniques and processes." Speakers included the head of the school of social work, the UL executive and the administrative assistant of the Cook County, Illinois, department of public aid. Topics included "The Negro in Milwaukee," "What it is Like to be a Negro" and "Welfare Work with Negroes."

As a results of the success of this institute in opening up discussion and providing insight, additional institutes are planned with other professional groups in the metropolitan area.

Anita Bellamy, director of community services, Washington UL, spoke on "Implementing Public Welfare Amendments."

She described the special problems of social welfare activities in the District of Columbia, with particular reference to raising public assistance payments to a living support level.

Inter-agency-employer Cooperative Job Training Programs were the subject of a talk by Thomas L. Nicholas, assistant supervisor of special training programs and program development in the Cook County department of public aid, Chicago.

In that city 189,000 persons are receiving public assistance and 94 percent of them are Negroes. "In the next two or three years this number will increase rapidly if present predictions of the effects of automation and cybernation are correct; and these, too, for the most part, will be Negroes," he said.

Mr. Nicholas emphasized the importance of bringing individuals up to a working minimum level of literacy. Examples of such cooperative "literacy up-grading" were mentioned: the Yellow Cab Driver Training, Shell Oil Driveway Salesman and Custodial Training programs, all developed cooperatively between the Chicago UL, Cook County department of public aid and employers.

Programming of this nature, said Mr. Nicholas, required considerable staff time and involvement which the ULs must be willing to invest if the programs are to be successful. This is necessary, he emphasized, because, among other things, most welfare departments are not professionally staffed for job development, curriculum development and instructing.

On August 4 the League released a 23-page report on "Health Care and the Negro Population." It delineated appalling discrepancies between Negro health and that of whites and the national, state and local practices which have caused and/or continued these discriminatory deficiencies. Lack of hospital privileges and residencies for Negro doctors and restricted medical training opportunities for Negroes were cited as primary problems, along with discriminatory health services.

The publication spelled out specific action to correct these problems on a national basis and also recommended UL action in cooperation with other groups. The 24 recommendations ranged from immediate desegregation of all hospitals and health facilities to studies to determine what prevents low-income Negroes from taking advantage of available medical care.

In discussion sessions, delegates endorsed cutting off federal grant programs for education, research and patient care where segregation and discriminatory practices are used. They also recommended:

- that the NUL call for inclusion of non-discrimination pledges in federal grant procedures. And on the local level, they urged UL affiliates to aid federal enforcement activities by gathering evidence of continued discriminatory practices.
- that citizen leadership in the health field be developed by naming qualified Negroes to public and private boards and commissions which make policy. The UL and its affiliates should take an active part in recruiting and training citizen leadership for this field, said delegates.
- action by government, educational and health service agencies to recruit and train more health workers of all kinds. Part-time or summer employment of young Negroes as aides, clerical workers and technician-trainees was suggested.
- that the UL endorse a national hospital insurance program similar to the Canadian and a national insurance program without restrictions on income, job or region.

One of the problems singled out was that of making available services truly available to those who need them most, by scheduling them when working people can take advantage of them, after 6 p.m. and on Saturdays.

An advisory committee and staff to coordinate UL activities in combatting poverty was recommended. The suggestion was that such activities be organized along the lines of the Skills Bank program.

Workshop on Religious Resources

The Potential in Moral Law for Today's Challenges

Presiding:

Mrs. O. Clay Maxwell, Sr., NUL trustee and chairman, committee on religious resources

Opening Prayer:

Mrs. Abbie Clement Jackson, associate member, NUL committee on religious resources; past president, Methodist Women of North America

Greetings:

Rev. Irvin Moxley, pastor, Peace Presbyterian Church, Louisville

Rabbi Martin M. Perley, Brith Sholom Temple, Louisville

Rev. John Loftus, O.F.M. dean, Bellarmine College, Louisville

Speaker:

Dr. Howard Thurman, dean of March Chapel and professor of spiritual resources and disciplines, School of Theology, Boston University

Panel Discussants:

Percy H. Steele, Jr., executive director, San Francisco Bay Area UL, *Moderator*

Robert C. Wilson, past president, Akron UL

Mrs. Joseph A. Maltzer, chairman, religious resources committee, Detroit UL

Mrs. Robert W. Dockrey, chairman religious resources committee, Louisville UL

Mrs. Edward W. Macy, NUL consultant on religious resources

Dean Thurman's address was on "The Quest for Community."

"There is no community," he said in addressing the Sunday, August 2nd workshop "where there is no sense of self." A sense of self rests, he noted, on "one's own sense of center, of core that relates

DR. HOWARD THURMAN PAUSES WITH URBAN LEAGUE'S MRS. EDITH MACY AND NATIONAL TRUSTEE MRS. MAXWELL



to others — a place in every man that waits for the sound of the genuine in any man." Discrimination makes this impossible because it prevents the ebb and flow, the potential of each to be strengthened. Further, "the quest for community is the quest of the human spirit seeking to fulfill itself as the expression of will and intent of God. . . . He who would work for community must make of his heart a swinging door."

In the panel discussion that followed, it was reported that 41 ULs now have religious resources committees in being or formation.

Panelists said ULs must offer constructive, direct action outlets such as:

- letter writing to elected officials and news media about the moral issues in civil rights legislation;
- writing to stores and businesses encouraging fair employment practices;
- participation in housing surveys, initiation of programs on open occupancy, etc.
- providing results of local studies and helpful bibliographies.

Mrs. Macy urged UL committees to initiate and foster communication between churches and civil rights organizations, for the clergy, for lay leaders, social action and education committees in churches and synagogues. Where possible, she suggested, UL executives should work with church committees or have staff members serve as advisers. The UL, she said, is prepared to inform, direct, equip and undergird people and groups who will speak out, to guide them in direct action involvement. In expressing their commitment, church bodies need the guidance and interpretation of community problems by the UL, she said.

Through the action of UL religious resources committees, reported Mrs. Macy, hundreds of citizens in UL cities have been made aware for the first time of conditions to be faced in their own home

towns. Further, they have been alerted to the UL programs. They have also been challenged, she pointed out, to involve themselves in righting long-standing community wrongs.

In line with these points, delegates later developed recommendations on religious resources action. One recommendation challenged the committees to confront, inform and involve members of the religious community with the anti-poverty program as it relates to local situations.

Annual Delegate Assembly

RESOLUTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Presiding:

Martin E. Segal, NUL trustee and chairman, job development and employment committee; president, Martin E. Segal Company

Report of Workshop Recommendations: Mrs. Charles Keller, Jr., chairman, recommendations committee and workshop chairman

The Delegate Assembly, made up of official voting members, is the UL's highest policy-making and legislative body. It met in both the morning and afternoon of August 6.

Perhaps the most urgent piece of business transacted by the Assembly was a resolution outlining a "crash program for voter registration." It endorsed the action of civil rights leaders, who urged that "energies and resources required for mass demonstrations be re-directed for the immediate future into voter education and registration activity." The entire UL movement was asked to "devote its major energies to the urgent problem of political

education, registration and voting" during the next ninety days.

Intended to supplement existing and traditional efforts, a special non-partisan drive was set up with a projected budget of \$300,000 and a staff headed by Sterling Tucker, executive director of the Washington, D.C., UL. The drive began that day, August 6. Local ULs were called upon to (1) organize and mobilize the Negro community to register and vote; (2) provide educational machinery to help Negroes fulfill citizenship obligations; (3) use their own methods and procedures to implement the program.

A second new and important piece of business was an Assembly resolution that all UL directors should launch anti-poverty campaigns with public officials and organizations in their cities. UL executives and staff members were expected to initiate conference and public education campaigns to do this. Delegates endorsed the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The Assembly passed other resolutions to serve as goals and guidelines for UL action. Those adopted were additions to existing, on-going programs and were not intended to be all-inclusive summaries of programs. They indicate new emphases and directions. Brief highlights from Delegate Assembly resolutions and recommendations follow:

Education and Youth Incentives

Every textbook firm should include the contributions of the Negro where pertinent, should encourage writers and illustrators to include such information and illustrations. Further, UL should stimulate local boards of education to use such materials.

The NUL in cooperation with other agencies should develop pre-school and kindergarten demonstration projects as part of the anti-poverty effort.

Local ULs were urged to take immediate steps to obtain use of school facilities outside scheduled periods, for remedial and additive education for deprived youngsters. And, until such programs are

financed and staffed by local government bodies, UL affiliates were asked to staff such programs with experienced volunteers insofar as possible.

Job Development and Employment

Local ULs and the NUL should explore possibility of an apprenticeship "talent bank."

Career Conferences at predominately Negro colleges should be reinstituted by the UL.

Counseling and placement services should be expanded to students not reached by normal recruiting programs of business, government and labor.

Expanded opportunities for summer jobs in industry and government for both faculty and students of predominately Negro colleges should be sought by the UL.

Housing

The UL attacked the weakening of the Housing Act of 1964 and urged passage of bills then in the Senate and House committees. It outlined fifteen specific proposals dealing with FHA, VA and Urban Renewal practices and public housing measures to enlarge the supply of low-rental housing, make it more easily available, and to aid displaced and aged as well as homebuyers and owners.

The Assembly called on the President of the United States to convene a White House Conference on Housing and Urban Development.

Local ULs should counsel and guide minority families to get landlords and officials to cooperate in improving their housing; ULs should develop citizen and neighborhood action to improve their communities.

In urban renewal programs, the UL should stimulate citizen participation by organizing site residents to protect their interests in planning and executing renewal programs.

Closer coordination of federal highway projects with concurrent urban renewal programs was recommended. Also, relo-

cation services should be provided families displaced by the highway programs.

Apprehension concerning the impending referendum in California to erase the fair housing legislation from the books and make illegal any further such legislation caused Delegates to go on record in favor of defeating this measure and all other efforts of this type.

Health and Welfare

Delegates favored pegging public assistance support to the standard of living index according to the Department of Agriculture formula.

Health insurance for the aged through social security was endorsed.

Family planning clinics should be established in towns and cities which do not have them at present; publicity about available family planning facilities, services and benefits should reach groups not having such information.

NUL and its affiliates should stimulate and co-sponsor action research projects to give high quality medical care to pregnant women and newborn children.

Local ULs should initiate and support efforts to admit elderly Negroes to institutional care and to expand such services.

Welfare administrators should consider hiring personnel to find adoptive and foster homes for Negro and other deprived children.

Religious Resources

Arranging for seminarians to do field work with ULs in communities with divinity schools was recommended.

Religious Resources Committees of local ULs should initiate and foster communication between religious groups and local ULs, particularly to offer the League's experience and expertise to the religious community as an instrument in "witnessing."

UL Youth Community

The Youth Community resolved to raise funds to finance participation of young delegates in national and international conferences, in the Experiment

in International Living and the American Field Services Program. It also called for the Education and Youth Incentives Committee of each UL to include a Youth Community representative.

Other Resolutions

The League should go into long-range planning to establish criteria which would help newly-developing urban centers avoid the problems of older cities.

Official Business

Presiding:

Martin E. Segal

Financial Report, 1964-1965

Malcolm Andersen, NUL senior vice-president and chairman, finance committee; senior tax counsel, Socony Mobil Oil Company

Malcolm Andersen announced that in the previous year the NUL received a total of \$1,468,000 in contributions. He reported to Delegates the results of fund-raising efforts and the responses from various sectors of the community — business, labor, etc. He noted that each group had increased its support except the foundations. He announced that the Equal Opportunity Day dinner which previously was a fund-raising function will no longer be used for that purpose. And he described fund-raising luncheons convened by members of the Corporate Support Committee, the results of which have provided increasing revenues.

Report on 1963 Conference

Recommendations:

Nelson C. Jackson, director, eastern regional office, NUL

Nelson Jackson reported on action taken to implement resolutions of the 1963 National Conference. He said that most of the recommendations in the job development field had been engaged in and many activities recommended in other program areas "were approached but not in the depth that the Conference requested." Mr. Jackson said reports from

local ULs suggested that more emphasis must be placed on strengthening local programs and that volunteer leadership can be used to a greater degree.

Election of NUL Trustees and Officers

The Delegate Assembly elected seven new trustees to the NUL board for three-year terms: Mrs. Max Ascoli, Mrs. Haley Bell, Walker Cisler, Robert Lazarus, Jr., Peter Ottley, Mrs. Arthur Ochs Sulzberger and Leonard Woodcock.

In separate action, NUL officers were elected by the board of trustees. For 1964-1965 they are: Lindsley F. Kimball, president; Malcolm Andresen, senior vice-president; John H. Johnson and Ramon S. Scruggs, vice-presidents; Dorothy Hirshon, secretary and Ivan C. McLeod, treasurer.

Election of Youth Community Officers

The Youth Community elected the following national steering committee: co-chairmen, Walter Dancy and Alan Farber; vice-chairman, Joanne Robinson; corresponding secretary, Rose Casey; recording secretary, Linda G. Housch; and treasurer, Ramon S. Scruggs, Jr. Youth Advisors are Marcia Young and Nancy Steeger. Henry Steeger serves as honorary chairman.

New Local Leagues

New UL affiliates were approved. They are in Racine, Wisconsin and Peoria, Illinois. This brought the number of local ULs to 68.

PUBLIC RELATIONS: Louisville, Kentucky is not the communications center of the United States. Yet, because of the Conference, an unprecedented quantity and variety of news stories originated there during the first week in August, 1964,

The city is blessed with two of the nation's leading daily newspapers, a fine weekly newspaper, two television stations and several radio stations. It is no exaggeration to state that the Conference dominated the local newspapers and newscasts

during the period from July 30 to August 7. One Louisville official said that his city had not had a convention in ten years with so many top ranking national figures in attendance. This fact and the new locus of the UL program in the national scene accounted for intense news media interest in the Conference.

In addition to the local news organizations, reporters were on hand from *The New York Times*, Johnson Publications (*Ebony* and *Jet*), the *Washington Post*, *Washington Star*, *Cincinnati Enquirer*, *Philadelphia Bulletin*, *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, plus Flint, (Mich.) and New Haven, (Conn.) radio stations. And daily, important news from the Conference sped around the country via the Associated Press and United Press International wire services, and the Associated Negro Press.

In order to focus news media attention on matters of outstanding importance, press conferences were arranged. In each case UL experts on the subject in question were queried by reporters at length. Among the topics explored were: The

New South; Operation Equality; Urban Riots; School Dropouts; Title VI of the Civil Rights Law (and the UL letter to President Johnson); Voter Education Drive; plus press conferences with Messrs. Steeger and Young, Wirtz, and others.

All of these warranted and received press attention. Furthermore, the release during the Conference of the League's report on health and the Negro, the announcement of a cooperative housing information clearinghouse and the report on Title VI violations each resulted in wide news coverage.

The publication date of Whitney Young's book *To Be Equal* coincided with the Conference. It received tremendous press notice throughout the nation, and the *Louisville Times* and *Courier Journal* gave it special reviews. Four hundred and eighty copies were sold at the Conference.

Press clippings resulting from the Conference fill two thick scrapbooks in the NUL public relations office and indicate exceptionally broad use of news reports about the Conference.

THE KIMBALLS AND STEEGERS TRADE JOKES WITH USIA's CARL ROWAN





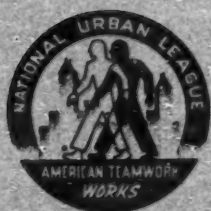
1. AUTHOR YOUNG AUTOGRAPHS "TO BE EQUAL" FOR ADMIRING FANS

2. NATIONAL TRUSTEE HOLLAND INTRODUCES MR. AND MRS. JONES

3. SECRETARY OF YEAR RECEIVES TRIBUTE

4. ADMINISTRATOR WEAVER AT HOUSING SESSION

5. LOUISVILLE PUBLISHER FRANK STANLEY ADDRESSES GUILD COUNCIL



National Urban League

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